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which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" shorkhaan (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a bazir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean (Nestorian, a member of the Christian sect centering around Kochil), has several assistants hired from among the townspeople and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and croaking. It follows that the operators many times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of unions than, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Kirkuk. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the village may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Kawandus, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Kawandus save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Kawandus, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlakha, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Kawandus beneath the bluff, and there is a

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The maintenance of a *shebeen* can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the *shebeen*, servants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The *shebeen*, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the *prisoners* or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teashops, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the term "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a *diwankhana* or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in *shebeens* will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, an enlisted man from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (*hijla hay*, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a treasure re-
sembling that of a European or American army recruit. The
face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great
social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man with- 302
out some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 931
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and,
more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache,
through an understandable cultural process, has come to be
a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with
a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical
qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even
officials and officers, who often wear their hair long,
do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a
sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is
the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and
this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [942]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Women
are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms
and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to
say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [934]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Ex-
cept for the cologne of the barber, men do not use
cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 924
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 574

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, out, however, in Kurmanbus, hold flowers to their noses on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Khalils puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective _hindi_, "rustic," is used with flippancy and condescension. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistence on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a _nadi_ or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated _effendi_ whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a _diwakhana_. Another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

receives, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and gardens are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will have a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men meeting themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not normally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is annoying, as well as the particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" is popular, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils [about $0.14], and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars [$2.80]. Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskilful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the mess or in the home of the policeman, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikor, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars (ID16.00 per month and 240 dinars (ID192.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Allah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a guest may have excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Bayhan behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical hospitality of the guest-room, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Ball or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chief's house, but here they were replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Kuwaitis, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

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day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, the Mama borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called the Mama, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "Not exactly," sighed the Mama piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "how can a pot die?" The Mama placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the Judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?"

The older women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the *mejli* or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Arbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowanduz district.

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overwhelms any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset,

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domains, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous veiled figures from the waist, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educated workmates or officials like the mayor of the town, any emergence peeked back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn veil and the pushed-back veil were combined. Thus I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmoud's son, the first occasion my interpreter had invited herself and in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connection with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the city, for example in the cloth trades in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently found men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small measure of face through the closely-held veil.

In the Bahaeddin mosque, both the vaulted and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary way. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the mosque was dark, and was again drawn in the interval. Thus in the audience room not always a glimpse of the women to the fore.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the man's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. Moreover, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 178). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hyperlife was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in the houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abā'* and veil. Thus, like the seclusion of the aristocrat's village women, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOME

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village settlement the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, the matter of visitors was the world outside the home. On several visits the village, inspected the fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, wage, and economic circumstances. On the rare occasions he was a participant in the life itself in the family section of the house. (There is a women's quarter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three villages.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Shaikh's home at Tirgawra, I gained the distinct impression between husband and other male wives, family, and placement. The presence of our female informant, my interpreter and I, caused all family and personality. Male relatives arriving on leave or illness were also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village differentiated than I noticed.

In the Kurdish village culture, on the other hand, the men spent the leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or clustered with groups in the village bazaar. Village men seemed driven some evenings before a wedding in order to gather some musicians who had arrived. In the village culture there were few genuine qualifications for a male group life then obtained for the village Arabs, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women as characteristic of Muslim areas was inconsistent.

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, chatting around together in the streets of in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu an division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women after paid or received visits or which we were were present. Mixed parties with married couples were welcomed. The home then belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleagues, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being embarrassed by, and not quite happy about, the situation, retired out of conversation for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the Kurdish village culture, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

This division appeared to be gained hard in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only received friends in not his words and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

[illegible]

[illegible]

Translation

Kurdish State and not communist. It existed for only nine months, despite the Treaty of Alliance for twenty years which it had concluded with another Soviet-sponsored government, the autonomous administration of Persian Azerbaijan.

Even such short-lived experiments as the Kurdish Republic of 1946 can become an important factor in the national tradition of a people, who, like the Kurds, are living under foreign rule. Experiments of that kind are apt to create a myth which ultimately may have a greater impact on the national development of the people than the original event itself. From year to year the Kurdish Republic of Qazi Mohammed may appear to the Kurds more splendid and more powerful, particularly if Soviet propaganda does its share by reminding the Kurds of the downfall of 'their' republic and recalling the part which Russia played in its foundation. Soviet propaganda is indeed taking every opportunity of referring back to the glorious times when two pictures decorated the walls of the houses of many a Kurdish sheikh – that of Qazi Mohammed, the Kurdish leader, hanged by the Persians in March 1947, and that of Generalissimo Stalin.[46]

Despite the collapse of 'Free Kurdistan' Soviet Russia has nevertheless made great progress in mastering the Kurdish problem. Kurdish chieftains became acquainted with Soviet institutions and Soviet ideology while the Russian occupation of Persia's Kurdish territories lasted. Many Persian Kurds joined their countrymen already living in Soviet Transcaucasia and Kurdish culture 'national in form and socialist in content' developed: 200 Kurdish pamphlets and books had been published in the Soviet Union by 1945.[47] Nor was there any shortage of qualified Kurdish personnel in the Soviet Union after the war. On the contrary, Soviet propaganda was able to boast of Kurdish 'state dignitaries and outstanding workers in culture and science', who had sprung up among the Russian Kurds. A Kurdish Soviet poet, Amin Avdal, is the 'author of wonderful verses on the Soviet homeland'. Another Kurdish poet, Jasmeh Jalil, translated Russian classics into his native tongue. A Kurdish philologist, Nuru Pulatowa, a graduate of Leningrad University, became the only Kurdish woman scholar in the world.[48] And lastly, between 1946 and 1950 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. included a Kurdish deputy, Semaad Allievich Sinbandow.

However important the recent Soviet experiments with the Russian Kurds may be, the latter represent not even 5 per cent of the entire Kurdish people. Soviet Russia must bring either the Turkish or the Persian Kurds within her orbit if she wants to make a success of her 'Kurdish policy'. It remains to be seen whether the political dynamic of the U.S.S.R. and the ideological power of Bolshevism will be sufficient to accomplish this aim.